

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

July 27th, 1957

"Mankind's sub-
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tolerated."

They Cling to the Hangman's Noose!

RETURN TO THE ROPE

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The tactic was successful. The Government's Bill—willy-nilly accepted by the abolitionists as a bad second-best, but nevertheless a 'step in the right direction'—removed the death penalty from a 'straight-forward' murder but retained it for the killing of policemen and prison warders and for murder committed in the furtherance of another crime.

A Futile Compromise

This really was a fantastic compromise, although all good solid citizens (who are a pretty blood-thirsty bunch when their property is threatened), thought that it was going quite far enough. It is beginning to be more widely recognised that the *deliberate* murderer must be to some extent mentally deranged. Most solid citizens pooh-poo such far-fetched, amoral theories as those of these psychologist chaps, who seem to be only concerned with helping thugs escape their just deserts. No-one has more rigidly turned his face against attempting to understand the psychological motives for crime of all kinds than the Lord Chief Justice. But when even Lord Goddard has recognised that he is a psychopath (even though he consoles himself with the thought that everyone else is, too*) then we can see that psychology is really being accepted, however reluctantly, and even though undoubtedly without full understanding of its implications.

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No Dignity, No Compassion

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Will Strydom Flog the Bishop

DURING its comparatively short but apparently permanent term of office the Nationalist government of South Africa has succeeded in maintaining its unwavering course down the retrogressive path of black reaction. With resistance from only small minorities and little more than half-hearted objections on certain issues from some sections of the opposition party, the Nationalists have swept the board with a series of laws designed to reduce the condition of the African to a level which would compare unfavourably with the situation of the American negro before the Civil War.

In order to carry this out the Nationalists have resorted to any measures which might suit their purpose. Their pursuit of *apartheid* has been strewn with the broken remains of a constitution which at one time offered at least a shred of hope for partial, albeit Orwellian, equality. No such shred remains, and Africans can no longer expect to improve their conditions by constitutional methods, even if this was ever a real possibility.

In the absence of any serious opposition the government has become stronger and increasingly contemptuous of such criticism as has been forthcoming. Safe in the knowledge that its prime policy of *apartheid* has the backing of the great majority of South African whites, it has continued to bring forth legislation which will curtail every liberty (*sic*) remaining to the African.

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In this Issue :

Woodcock in Mexico - p. 3

Anarchist Stirrings
in the Americas - p. 3

Letters to the Editors - p. 4

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 18, No. 30

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How They Cling to the Hangman's Noose!

RETURN TO THE ROPE

FOR two years our society has been clean of the stain of capital punishment. Following the public agitation of two years ago, when argument in the Press was at its height and large meetings addressed by many prominent people focussed attention upon the subject, the Government yielded sufficiently to remove from the statute book some of the categories of crime for which the punishment was death.

The public agitation — centred around the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment — had been for total abolition. But newspapers had run opinion polls providing alternatives, and in the House of Commons the hard core of abolitionists had rallied enough support from 'half-and-halfers' to win a free vote on the issue mainly because the Government was blankly against any alteration in the law and the Tory back-benchers who were veering away from the gallows had no choice between black and white.

Tory Tactics

The Government had clearly thought originally that Sidney Silverman's Private Bill stood no chance, since Sir Anthony Eden, in agreeing to a free vote, pledged the Cabinet to act on the decision of the House. He got a surprise, however, when Silverman's Bill won a majority on the division, and Sir Anthony was faced with the terrible decision of whether to be democratic or to act like a government. Of course he chose the latter.

The Tory Cabinet set out to divide Silverman's supporters into the total abolitionists and the half-and-halfers and then to present a Bill them-

selves which would satisfy the latter and leave the former without the necessary voting strength to win in the House.

The tactic was successful. The Government's Bill—willy-nilly accepted by the abolitionists as a bad second-best, but nevertheless a 'step in the right direction'—removed the death penalty from a 'straight-forward' murder but retained it for the killing of policemen and prison warders and for murder committed in the furtherance of another crime.

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No Dignity, No Compassion

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DURING its course but apparently of office the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment has maintained its unflinching reaction. With respect to small minorities and half-hearted objections from some opposition party, have swept the board of laws designed to the detriment of the African would compare the situation of the before the Civil War.

In order to carry out their policy, abolitionists have measures which are their purpose. Their purpose has been strewn with the remains of a constitution offered at least for partial, albeit a reality. No such show of Africans can no longer prove their conditional methods, even a real possibility.

In the absence of position the government stronger and increasing of such criticism forthcoming. Safe that its prime policy has the backing of the majority of South Africa continued to bring which will curtail the remaining to the African.

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The Government's action in claiming the life of John Vickers has shown that it cannot be trusted to act with dignity and compassion. There is only one thing that can be done about the death penalty—it must be abolished completely. Political baits and sly compromises should not be allowed to bring back the hangman when for two years our society has managed to survive without him.

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Earlier this year the *apartheid* law was passed by Parliament, which barred Africans from urban areas. Despite warnings the Anglican issued a pastoral letter to its members to discontinue their support of the government of South Africa. The Roman Catholic Church joined the Anglicans in claiming that their church was open to people of all colours, and that the Government should decide who should attend their church.

The bishops are possible consequences of these actions, for these are clearly by a Protestant Member from Africa, Mr. J. V.

Brutality in Kenya

THE defeat of the Mau-Mau organisation apparently did not bring an end to terrorism in Kenya, and one wonders how often cases of brutality against Africans are kept quiet by the authorities in this country.

It was disclosed in the House of Commons last week that an African detainee who had been sent to a camp for "rehabilitation" had been assaulted by a prison officer and collapsed as a result, soon afterwards he died.

Answering question in the House of Commons last week, Lennox-Boyd stated that medical evidence at the trial showed that death could not be proved to have been due to the assault. The African "rehabilitation assistant" was cleared of a charge of murder and given twelve months' hard labour.

He stated further there was no evidence to support a criminal charge against the Camp Commandant, and as if to prove how humane the whole system is Members were told that the Governor had personally visited the camp after the "incident" and ordered measures for closer supervision.

According to the defending counsel at the trial of the prison assistant this was no isolated incident. He claimed that:

"We have evidence that there are other convictions in the camp for similar assaults and I am informed they numbered 27."

Mr. R. T. Paget (Lab. Northampton), after referring to "the wonderful job" done by a great many people with regard to the rehabilitation service, said "None the less, one is frightfully concerned when these horrible cases occur periodically and even more concerned when the sentences appear to be so inadequate. Are you aware that there seems to be a certain delusion in Kenya—that the offence of murder involves the killings, whereas it in fact only involves the acceleration of death, and where a man is thrashed and hung up by his wrists and dies—it is a little bit odd to hold that he would have died rather later if he had not been treated in that way?"

Lennox-Boyd replied: "You have had personal experience of what armed conflict means and you know some of the difficulties under which the security services have been operating in Kenya."

We were not aware that an armed conflict still existed in Kenya, and even if it did is this a good reason for the brutal treatment of prisoners? Assuming that extreme cases like the one reported are frowned upon by the authorities, nowadays there is plenty of evidence to show that the life of the African is held cheaply by the white official born out of his contempt and sense of superiority.

Just Like

IT is not often that we are in sympathy with the lot of the soldier, especially those voluntary dummies who spend their lives marching up and down outside the home of our Queen. But there is something rather pathetic about a soldier who passes out in the heat being held personally responsible for such an act especially when he is so inconsiderate as to commit it at the Colour Trooping rehearsal.

Twenty men have been charged under a section of the army act dealing with "conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline" for fainting at the Colour Trooping

held on June 3rd. rehearsal. Four practised drill and privileges for two

Mr. John Hare, reported as having taken steps to see no recurrence. Wrote to the punishment of fainting incidents, an examination of the conditions disclosed that the punished "contrary orders" which read only be charged. The officer says that his own negligence

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Earlier this year the church *apartheid* law was passed through Parliament, which gives power to bar Africans from churches in urban areas. Despite threats and warnings the Anglican Church has issued a pastoral letter to all its members to disobey the law, and have followed this with the announcement of a fund to help those who

strongly advised the Government not to hesitate to flog any Churchmen who disobeyed the law. A flogging would "be for the good of their souls", said this sadistic personage. This was no idle suggestion; the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, passed in 1952, carries a maximum sentence of flogging and five years' imprisonment for *any person who does or says anything likely to cause anyone to break any law*. This law makes it *legally* possible for the Government to put anyone in prison on the barest suspicion of anything.

The maximum penalty for the first breach of the Church *apartheid* law is a fine of £10 or 2 months' imprisonment, and £25 and 3 months' for a second offence. Patently this is not the law which will apply to the action taken by the bishops. The South African Government is placed in a position where it must either accept the most serious repulse it has yet had to its authority or take strong and perhaps unpopular action against all the Anglican and Catholic bishops within its territory. It is a difficult decision to take, even for a neo-fascist régime, for it courts more than unpopularity from its own people. It could bring about criticism and even economic reprisals from the rest of the world. Even Hitler and Mussolini had misgivings (which they eventually overcame), where serious, overt action against the Church was concerned.

It seems probable that Mr. Strydom will have to find some compromise solution to the problem without actually going to extreme lengths in either direction. In the eyes of the world it is one thing to place several million black men in slavery or gaol without reason and with no regard for their rights as human beings, but quite another to imprison a number of Church leaders.

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suffer through breaking the law.
The Roman Catholic bishops have
joined the Anglicans and have pro-
claimed that their churches will be
open to people of all races regard-
less of colour, and both have stated
that the Government has no power
to decide who should be allowed to
attend their churches.

The bishops are fully aware of the
possible consequences of their
actions, for these were made abun-
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Although we do not often find
ourselves in sympathy with the
actions of Church hierarchy, and
without enquiring too closely into
all their present motives and reasons,
we find ourselves hoping that they
will succeed in establishing at least
a precedent for defying a particularly
oppressive and hate-ridden govern-
ment. If this appears to be a part
of the doctrine of "the better of two
evils", we can only suggest that it
is better to have the freedom to
choose whether to go to church than
to have no freedom of choice at all.

Just Like Schoolboys

IT is not often that we are in sym-
pathy with the lot of the soldier,
especially those voluntary dummies
who spend their lives marching up
and down outside the home of our
Queen. But there is something
rather pathetic about a soldier who
passes out in the heat being held
personally responsible for such an
act especially when he is so incon-
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Twenty men have been charged
under a section of the army act
dealing with "conduct prejudicial to
good order and military discipline"
for fainting at the Colour Trooping

held on June 3rd. Four were given
rehearsal. Four were given extra
practise drill and three deprived of
privileges for two or three days.

Mr. John Hare, War Minister, is
reported as having said that he was
taking steps to see that there was
no recurrence. We think he refer-
red to the punishment and not the
fainting incidents because it seems
an examination of rules and regula-
tions disclosed that these men were
punished "contrary to standing
orders" which read that a man can
only be charged if the medical
officer says that he fainted through
his own negligence!

An officer of the Guards express-
ed surprise at the War Minister's
statement:

"Technically, the men were not pun-
ished. Admonished means they were let
off with a warning; no entry is made in
their personal records."

When asked about those extra drill
practices and loss of privileges he said:

"That is not regarded as punishment
in the Guards. If a man has been out
late the night before, or wears an ill-
fitting bearskin, it means he has not
prepared himself for the parade."

"It is like a schoolboy who hasn't
swotted up for his lessons. The master
may keep him in to go over them again.
That is not a punishment."

E. A. BERGMAN

IT is not surprising that many imaginative writers have made journeys in Mexico; there is so much that one wants to know about that country. Few who saw the big Mexican Exhibition in London in 1953 could be unmoved by curiosity, wonder or awe, at the strangeness and variety of the arts of the ancient civilisations, of the Spanish conquistadores and missionaries, of the revolutionary generations and of the village Indians. Then there is the explosive synthesis of the two death-centred cultures that met in Mexico, troubling us because it repudiates so much of what we regard as the basic assumptions of our own culture. (We forget of course Dachau, Vorkuta, Hiroshima). Or we may wonder about the fruits of the "permanent revolution", we may want to know the truth about Zapata— butcher or saviour, or both? Or the truth about the Ejidos, the co-operative farms—a dismal failure or a harbinger of agrarian rebirth? We may wonder again about the lives of our friends among the European political exiles, Russian, German, Spanish, in Mexico City. Or we may simply be fascinated by the archaeology and architecture, the exotic flora and fauna, and the topography of this land where it gets colder as you get nearer the equator, because of the altitude. "O shining Popocatepetl, It was thy magic hour".

Apart from classics like Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* and Madame Calderon de la Barca's *Life in Mexico*, from sensational stuff about the revolution, economic reports by commercial attachés, anthropological studies, and books by American correspondents full of the political tit-bits of the capital and Pan-American uplift, apart from these the literature of Mexico in English consists largely of the travel impressions of a series of remarkable writers. D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Graham Greene have all met the challenge of this strange land. "The challenge" because, as George Woodcock says in his new book,* what one perceives on reaching

Mexico, "is a kind of ruthless stripping down of life to the bones of existence, and I believe that the psychic shock, of almost traumatic intensity, which so many writers experience on their first introduction to the country is caused by this revelation in elemental terms".

George and Inge Woodcock spent the autumn and winter of 1953 wandering through eastern and central Mexico, travelling by the erratic and ramshackle

country buses down from the Texan border through the desert and jungle, up to the high plateau and down to Mexico City sinking into its swamp, westward through Jalisco and Michoacan, and south to Oaxaca and Mitla the centre of the world for the Zapotecs, and their City of the Dead. In his account of their travels he reaches a peak of descriptive writing which places it in a quite different category from the seasonal spate of travel books. And, freed from the obsessions or preoccupations of Lawrence or Greene he comes to terms with this tragic and violent land. All the time, he writes:

"One perceives the spark of consciousness burning clearly but meagrely in a life so stripped of what we have come to regard as necessities that it assumes almost the character of a defiance of nature. In such a life nothing is concealed; everything that is negative and malignant is forced on one's attention with merciless candour. Poverty, hunger, disease, inequality, injustice, violence, death—all are there, and none can be ignored. The Mexican may be fatalistic about such matters, as the Indians are; he may profit by them, as the more powerful have always done in this unhappy country; he may rebel against them in some terrible eruption of violence. But he rarely avoids them, he rarely tries, like so many people in our more sophisticated cultures, to anaesthetize them out of his consciousness. He accepts the existential tragedy of which circumstances daily remind him, and by doing so he is often able to gain a great satisfaction from the rest of life; as Proudhon once suggested, the man who realizes that he is in the midst of death begins to live with a real intensity. Significantly, Mexicans may often be killed by others, but they rarely kill themselves; they may often die from diseases caused by the physical primitiveness of their existence, but they suffer little from the cancers and ulcers which are our compensatory plagues".



OF the fruits of the decade of revolution, his impressions are implicit in the description of what he saw. He found Mexico City a city of two nations with just as fabulous a gulf between rich and poor as ever. He found

that the social hierarchy was, as elsewhere, a matter of the lightness of one's skin, and that the cult of 'Indianism' in the manner of Diego Rivera, had actually been a disservice to the Indian, since it had "created a sentimental myth of the Indians which has served the creoles as a substitute for a knowledge of the real conditions of Indian life". He found that "though the Revolution has made considerable changes in land-ownership, by breaking up the haciendas, increasing the holding of the ejidos, and giving more land to small owners, the improvements in the conditions of the peasants have actually been slight and often imperceptible. This failure to produce an improved standard of living is closely connected with the fact that many estates which had been productive under private owners were quickly worked out when the peasants took over and began to apply their unscientific Indian methods of farming. In this way the good intentions of agrarians like Zapata were negated by the lack of knowledge among the people whom they tried to benefit".

The sad difference between projects and realities was continually evident. The recent history of Mexico as a whole, he notes, "is strewn with vast governmental schemes which were magnificent rather than practicable". The Mexicans call this fever to make plans for their own sake *proyectismo*. "Every Mexican government, and almost every urban Mexican, is a chronic victim of projectismo, unable to suppress the tendency to see proyectos in such general and optimistic terms that relatively little attention is paid to the speed or the competence with which they can be carried out, or to those apparently minor imperfections which at times undermine the greatest achievements". For this reason it is a relief to learn of the impressive results of the UNESCO Centre for Fundamental Education on Lake Patzcuaro. The Woodcocks approached it with misgivings, noting the pompous earnestness of the lines of poles bearing flags of sixty nations, but these feelings vanished after they had talked with people around Patzcuaro and "found how closely the

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PEOPLE AND IDEAS

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BOOK REVIEW

Love and Man's Need

THE ART OF LOVING by Erich Fromm. Allen & Unwin, 9s. 6d.

W. H. Auden said in one of his poems *We must love one another or die*—it is a succinct summary of Erich Fromm's little book. Fromm, whose previous books *The Fear of Freedom*, and *The Sane Society* readers of this paper may already know, starts with the proposition that man's deepest need is the need

to understand others, to be scientific towards them: one must have patience, concentration, discipline and objectivity. One must in fact be a 'complete man'.

Fromm realises that such love cannot flourish under our present (capitalist) social system and in his previous book (*The Sane Society*, published by Routledge) he has given us a detailed criticism of contemporary Western capitalist society and of the State capitalist society in Russia; in that book he suggests that a federal, co-operative society would provide an answer to many of the problems

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In the more primitive cultures where animals and the soil are the most important parts of man's environment he identifies himself with animals by wearing animal masks and worshipping animal gods. Another way of escaping separateness is through the communal rituals that achieve a trance-like state of exaltation for the individual—either by dance and music or sexual orgies. In "civilised" societies the same object is achieved by alcoholism and drug-taking by those who have become, for whatever reason, too isolated to solve the problem as the majority do; that is, by conformity. The individual self becomes largely submerged in conformity, dress, custom, and ideas to the pattern of the group, and as we all know this desire for conformity is utilised to the full by governments.

The pattern of our society is such that it will function more effectively with un-individualised human atoms "all obeying the same commands, yet everybody being convinced that he is following his own desires". We are becoming standardised units produced by society to serve society.

But what is the full answer to this great problem? Fromm maintains that it lies in "interpersonal union, of fusion with another person, in love. [Love] is the most fundamental passion, it is the force which keeps the human race together, the clan, the family, Society." To be a fully loving person one must first achieve complete self-knowledge and from that basis one may learn to

understand others, to be scientific towards them: one must have patience, concentration, discipline and objectivity. One must in fact be a 'complete man'.

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work of the Centre had struck to the real roots of Mexican country life . . . Its workers have not set out to remould the social basis of Tarascan life; instead they have aimed to give the Indians the knowledge and the skills that would help them to make their own adaptations to the twentieth-century world".

★

THE most revealing story of Mexican political life, under the perennial but far from dictatorial régime of the Party of Revolutionary Institutions, was told him by one of the European exiles, a well-known German syndicalist who fought with the anarchists in Spain. He was in the South, trying to make a little money by lecturing.

"One day I came into a small seaport on the Pacific coast. I wanted to give a lecture, but I was told that I could not do anything of the kind without the per- mission of the general of the garrison, who was all-powerful there. So I went to see him. He seemed to be the usual caudillo of the time, the old revolution- ary leader grown fat and corrupt with power and money. But he received me politely, and began to question me about my life. 'So you are an anarchist?' he said . . . 'Did you every hear of Ricardo Flores Magon?' Of course I had heard of Magon. As you know, he was a Mexican anarchist who played a great part in organising the revolutionary movement at the time of the fall of Diaz. 'Many years ago, Flores Magon was my comrade,' said the General, and I swear that hard old man had tears in his eyes . . ."

That night at the meeting,

"You can imagine how astonished I was when I saw the General march in at the head of his troops and range them, platoon by platoon, until the hall was full. And there they sat in stolid Indian silence while I talked to them of free- dom and damned authority and militar- ism. Can you think of any other coun- try where a General would force his soldiers to sit for a whole evening listen- ing to the opinions of an anarchist?"

George comments that he would have thought this story an exaggeration had not a parallel incident taken place in Mexico City a few days after it was told

FREEDOM

him. "Again the central figure was Flores Magon; a meeting was held to commemorate his anniversary, at which several distinguished legislators spoke and a representative of the President actually declared that the anarchism of Flores Magon pointed the direction in which Mexico must go. It is easy to comment cynically that Mexican politics, like Mexican religion, chooses its purest saints, like Flores Magon and Zapata, after they are safely dead, but it would be wrong to let such a fact blind one to the appeal which the mystique of the Revolution still has for large number of Mexicans".

★

THERE are pages of wonderful des- cription in this book, the spectacular siting of the town and churches of the Colonial period, the eroded plateau and the luxuriant vegetation, the tropical butterflies and leaf-carrying ants, the austere Castilian and extravagant Baroque buildings, the markets and fiestas and frescos, the strange mixture of pagan religions and priestless Catho- licism. But the deepest and most moving impression is of the Indians, patient and gravely courteous or brooding and in- comprehensible, clinging from birth to death to the very margin of survival. Like every other visitor to Mexico, George Woodcock noted that the chil- dren were never heard to cry. He was astonished by the gentleness of their parents, and though they must often have been sick and hungry, to him "they seemed far happier and far less violent towards each other than European work- ing class children". He also noted, un- like other writers, that half the deaths in Mexico are of children under fourteen.

He was struck too by the serenity of the old men, to whom, "there seems to come a kind of tranquillity that pervades a man's whole manner, and I would sometimes watch with near envy a couple of ragged old men, their white hair glistening in contrast to their wrinkled walnut features, who would sit on a pavement on market day, talking softly and solemnly, or merely looking at what went on around them with an alert yet serene look that made one feel they had touched something like the Oriental way of inward living which is so alien to the European".

If only, one thinks, considering these people and their history, if only it were true that the meek shall inherit the earth.

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There is something disagreeable in the thought that the behaviour of people individually and *en masse* can be codified within scientific laws and thus predicted, but such appears to be the case. This book reports the results of many investigations in the past into such questions

as how people affect each other's behaviour, how people can be persuaded, the attitudes of members of a group to the others and to leaders, and personal relations in large organisations such as industrial and commercial firms. There is one point which is not the author's concern, which is the vast power which a fuller mastery of this kind of knowledge would give to those in authority.

Tom Mann and his Times. By Dona Torr. Volume 1 (1856-1890). Lawrence & Wishart, 21/- (1956).

This is the first volume of a projected complete "Life" and covers Mann's boyhood, apprenticeship, and early manhood. As the title indicates it is more than a biography, and besides showing Mann's development as a trade unionist and, later, socialist, it tries to show him in the setting of the mass Labour movement. The volume ends with the Dock Strike of 1889.

The Urge to Punish. By Henry Weihofen. Gollancz, 15/-.

The sub-title is "New approaches to the problem of mental irresponsibility for crime," and in fact the author is concerned with how the law can take account of the degree of mental disturbance in criminals. He attacks the M'Naghten Rule for its "assumption that incapacity to know the nature and quality of an act, or incapacity to know its wrongfulness, is the only significant symptom of mental disorder and consequently should be the only criterion of responsibility." The title is misleading.

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"FREEDOM"
Volume 6, 1956

OIL AND TROUBLED WATERS

Oil & Troubled Waters (hand set)
312 pages paper 7/6, Cloth 10/6*

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This is the largest volume so far in the series and includes articles on the Hungarian revolt, the Suez venture as well as on the "ideological" crises in Russia. On home issues there are articles on Automation, the Hanging debate, the Labour Party policy programmes, etc. In fact there are 134 articles on a wide variety of subjects. A quarter of a million words—facts, ideas and opinions. Not a bedside book, but an interesting and valuable reference book, available to FREEDOM readers who order direct through Freedom Press for only FIVE SHILLINGS, post free.

*The Cloth edition is not available at present. We hope to receive copies from the binders in a fortnight's time.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 29

Deficit on Freedom	£580
Contributions received	£397
DEFICIT	£183

July 12 to July 18

Sheffield: G.P.* 5/-; London: S.B.* 2/6;
London: W.H.T.* 2/6; London: J.S.* 3/-;
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£1/0/6; Cippenham: E.C. 1/-; Lakewood:
S.M. £4/4/0; Edinburgh: A.C. 1/3.

Total	7 19 9
Previously acknowledged	389 2 10

7957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £397 2 7

*Indicates regular contributor.

Fire Fund

TOTAL TO DATE	£326 6 3
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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 18, No. 30.

July 27, 1957

More Reflections on The Forgotten Revolution *

TALKING with, or more accurately, listening to, some French ex-communist friends recalling, with marked nostalgia, people and incidents of what they called *la belle époque*, a brief period located to the east and west of the military "liberation" of France, we found ourselves reflecting that, depressing as such reminiscences can be.

(for inevitably the awakening of a past bubbling with activity and optimism, and of passionate discussions which ignored the clock and the rumblings and demands of the "inner-man" is also a reminder for that now large uncommitted, un-engagé, majority within a minority, of the emptiness, the routine of their materially successful present and the prospect of sheer boredom and spiritual isolation in their materially insatiable future)

How important nevertheless are these "highlights" of our lives not only to those of us who remain "committed" to that elusive "future" (in spite of the "propaganda dol-drum") but also to these former, these "ex-" comrades and brothers.

There is if we un-dogmatically seek it, a common link in the nostalgia felt by human beings, so diverse in their social approach as the now old-soldiers of the 1914-18 world war, or the direct or indirect participants in the Russian or Spanish revolutions, for a "past", in spite of the direction their daily lives have taken in the ensuing years. A nostalgia which outlives the gods-that-fail, the wars-to-end-wars that create more problems (including more wars) than they solve. The common link in those *belle-épouques* which involved every material hardship (in terms of bodily comfort) as well as the imminence of violent death, was in fact a feeling of sharing a danger, a cause, or a hope (however misplaced) . . . in common with one's fellow beings. For a brief hour the social and economic barriers were down; the narrow world of domestic responsibility and the

time of peace? There was, for instance, less loneliness in the promiscuity of the Underground shelters during the bombing raids, than there is to-day for millions of people in sickness and in health, young and old, living out their lives in ill-furnished, dreary bed-sitters throughout the country.

★

BUT let us return to the "highlights". For those of us whose political and social consciousness had been aroused in the middle-thirties, but who were too young to have been aware of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the defeat of General Franco's attempted military putsch in Barcelona on July 19th, 1936, and in two thirds of Spain within a fortnight of the uprising, is the *belle-époque* and nothing that has occurred in the world since, socially speaking, has so deeply moved or influenced us. How to communicate the significance of these events to those of our readers young in years, who were only just born when Franco was boasting of a "victory" gained at a cost of a million lives? This is a problem which has taxed us each July; and this year, as we listened in silence to our French ex-Communists for a fleeting moment recapturing the spirit of their "*belle-époque*" we were painfully conscious of the inadequacy of words as a substitute for personal experience. By words we can communicate history; the significance and impact of events on our lives is perhaps too personal to be successfully diffused.

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MUCH of the literature that appeared during the Spanish struggle of 1936-39—and it literally poured from the presses—has completely disappeared, most of it lacking either in literary or historical worth. Many of the books published at the time were the reflexions at a personal level of people unexpectedly caught up in events for which they were neither intellectually nor socially prepared. For these reasons they found themselves deeply involved, aggressively partisan even though more often than not they got hold of the wrong end of the political stick!

We cannot expect our young people of to-day to even be interested in the struggle in Spain in 1936 through such literature. Yet, as we monotonously point out each year, a conspiracy of silence has surrounded this momentous chapter of contemporary history. Twenty-one years have passed since Franco's attempted "march on Madrid". It took him, with the aid of the General Staffs of Italy and Ger-

Anarchist Stirring

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Although, a fortnight ago, Comrade P.S. was bewailing the dearth of propagandists in this country (and one immediate result of his letter was a revival of interest in Glasgow), on the other side of the Atlantic activity is beginning to flourish in parts, where the movement has been—shall we say 'dormant'?—for years.

Readers will have become aware, through advertisements and quotations, of the existence of the Libertarian League in New York, and we are glad to report on their continuous enthusiasm, which is bearing fruit in attempts to form federated groups in Chicago and Montreal.

The London comrades responsible for the Malatesta Club will extend a knowing sympathy to the comrades of the L.L. in New York who have taken over the administrative responsibility of the Libertarian Centre, and who write:

'The locale was run down in many ways and had not been painted for years. Poor lighting and a dingy XIX Century Attic appearance was not conducive to attracting young people. The long, dismal stairway was no encouragement to the not-so-young. The place was cold in winter and none too cool in summer.

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Far from suggesting that such situations encourage a contempt for life and a sense of irresponsibility, we would maintain that the contrary is the truth. That in abnormal situations, where the authority of government is in fact nominal: it may decide the overall military and political policy; but it cannot, however, exercise its authority in every trench or dug-out, or at every hastily improvised barricade!

It is sad to reflect that a deep, and lasting, spirit of comradeship is manifestly present in and arises out of, such pointless and destructive human manifestations as war, to a larger degree than in the day to day task of living in time of "peace". Indeed we have often thought that the psychologists who "explain" wars as manifestations of Man's aggressiveness, have not only exaggerated the doubtful satisfaction to be derived from an impersonal, scientific, button-pressing carnage, but have overlooked the bonds of friendship, solidarity and responsibility forged in time of war. May it not well be that then men and women discover the human warmth and solidarity which eludes them in

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Viewed quite dispassionately (assuming that we can) the uprisings of East Berlin, Poznan and Hungary, are dwarfed by the scale, and potentialities of the Spanish struggle. The silence surrounding the latter and the even exaggerated accounts of the former are understandable. Revolt behind the Iron Curtain however socially interesting it is to us is also

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

We advise those readers who have recently ordered copies and were informed that we were temporarily out of stock, that supplies have now reached us from the binders and we can now execute orders. The price of this volume, cloth binding, is SIX SHILLINGS.

A raffle was organized to raise money for improvements. Over \$200 was cleared and the improvements are well under way. Nothing could be done to shorten the stair climb, but progress has been made elsewhere. A large window fan has been installed to offset the heat on summer evenings. Fluorescent fixtures now brighten both the hall and the stairway. Floor, walls and tables have been or are in the process of being freshly painted, although comments on colour selection have not been unanimously complementary. By the time they are needed it is planned to install gas radiators to supplement the scant heat supplied by our mercenary landlord.

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*"The Forgotten Revolution" (FREEDOM 23/7/1955). "A Day that Inspired the World" (FREEDOM 21/7/1956).

Anarchist Stirrings in the Americas

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'The regular monthly social suppers, usually featuring chicken and rice which have been for many years a monthly event in New York's radical circles, and which usually clear about half or more of the monthly overhead, are now being continued under the responsibility of the local League Group. The Dielo Trouda Group continues to support the centre by a regular monthly contribution.'

As well as this, the Libertarian League is planning to commence the publication of propaganda pamphlets and have put themselves up to their ears in debt by the purchase of a multilith machine (a small offset litho press) and a varityper, with the aid of which they are to improve the appearance of their journal, *Views & Comments*, and produce the said pamphlets.

For the proletarian sourpusses who will denounce such literary effort and social life as bourgeois intellectualism, if not dilettantism, we should like to record what the Libertarian League is doing among the workers.

The New York Group has become involved in a local union situation in Brooklyn. A group of their sympathisers now controls the shop committee in a small factory employing 170 workers, from which vantage point they are able to influence the membership of a local numbering about 2,000 workers. After ten years during which they had not called one membership meeting, the local union bureaucracy has been put on the defensive. League literature is being circulated among the union militants and it is their hope that some recruitment for the League will ultimately result.

In doing this our comrades are putting into practice their attitude, their interpretation of the relationship between libertarians and the organised labour

unions. In a resolution adopted on June 8, they declare:

'The organized labour movement of the United States does not represent the milieu in which we would prefer to operate, but it does constitute at present the framework in which or around which we must perforce function.

'In the future, situations may present themselves, in which League members or sympathisers who have the support of the membership of their unions, will be faced with the choice of either accepting the responsibility of union leadership, or being discredited by having criticised the irresponsibility of the present leadership without being willing to assume responsibility themselves.

'The League considers it correct and proper for its members to accept union posts under certain circumstances. In taking such posts no obligation to the upper bureaucracy must be incurred. In campaigning for elective posts, the positions of the League for a democratic inner-union régime and advanced ideological positions must be brought into the open. Our comrades should accept no posts on the bases of a purely negative criticism of the right wingers, but must tie this fight in with the League's revolutionary programme in the field of unionism.

'The winning of influence in the unions can only be achieved by working from the bottom up—from the shop to the local, to the federation, etc. No positions of responsibility can be accepted without the full support of the members represented, and this is not possible if one begins at the top.

'No League member may accept such posts unless it be on the union positions of the League regarding limited length of term, limitations on pay, etc.'

South America

MEANWHILE in South America, the anarchist revival continues. We have already reported on the re-appearance of *La Protesta* in Argentina, following the departure of Peron, and now comes news of the activity of the Anarchist Federation of Uruguay, which, though still less than a year old, has successfully organised a South American Continental Anarchist Conference in Montevideo, and a mass May Day meeting.

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'In our opinion, the results of the Conference surpassed our greatest hopes. There were two delegations present from Argentina. One of these represented the R.I.A. (International Anarchist Relations Group), which represented *La Protesta*, *La Obra* and other groups. The other delegation represented the Argentine Liberation Federation. There were two delegations from Brazil, one from Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro and the other from Sao Paulo. There were delegations from the Libertarian Association of Cuba, the Chilean Anarchist Federation,

feel that these characteristics made this gathering a significant point in the historical evolution of international Anarchism. All of the resolutions passed by the Conference will be published in a special edition and distributed to all countries. Meanwhile, the pages of our newspaper *Lucha Libertaria*, formerly *Voluntad*, will give further details.

'As for our First of May meeting, we believe that it demonstrates how far the resurgence of Anarchism as a movement in our country has come. Apart from the large crowd—over 1,500 persons—the preliminary work of propaganda surprised everyone. Ten thousand posters were pasted on every corner throughout the city. Manifestos, leaflets, signs, sound-trucks, let the whole population know of the existence and activity of a revived Anarchist movement. Judging by this meeting, we expect a great deal from the future. In addition this bears out our opinions concerning the benefits of having a federalized organization capable of co-ordinating the militant action of all. The pages of *Lucha Libertaria* will also give details of this

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'For us it was a memorable experience. The atmosphere of cordiality and fraternity prevailing, honoured the highest anarchist ideals. The general orientation was constructive, positive and anti-dogmatic, with a passion for finding practical answers to those great problems with which Anarchism—as a social-revolutionary movement—is faced. We

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. . . And in due course we hope to have the resolutions translated and we shall publish them for discussion in this country.

Is it too much to hope that some of the enthusiasm behind the resurgence of anarchism in the Americas may finally filter through to the apathetic anarchists of Britain?

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27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I.

BAKUNIN'S statement on the relationships between freedom and society is correct in the sense that the best fruits of freedom have a social content and are to be enjoyed in a social context. It is incorrect if taken to mean that in no case does society limit and detract from the freedom of individuals. The individual and society are complementary terms, but the area of their respective competence can never be determined once for all, and it is at once an ethical duty and a difficult art to establish in each case their demarcation line, protecting the individual from social restrictions and inhibitions and society from individual aggressiveness and greed.

Because the claims of society and the individual may and do conflict, two different attitudes are found among anarchists: that of those who are primarily concerned with defending an individual's right to live his life as he thinks, and that of those who search for ways and means of bringing about a society which will interfere with this right as little as is compatible with the preservation of the same right in other individuals. The former are against organization because they see in it an instrument of power for achieving the submission of the individual, and the latter are for organization, not only because an ethical society will never be achieved without it, but also because without the reliable support of some others an individual would be fighting a losing battle all the time.

Since both stands are legitimate and inspired by the same objection to the use of power for making people do what they do not want to do, they need not be conflicting in practice, at least not at the present time, and not within the anarchist family. Let the individualist fight against society (or, rather, against those organizations which usurp its authority) without singling out for attack or disruption an anarchist organization that needs all the strength it can muster to carry on its own fight and, quite often, simply to survive. On the other hand, let anarchist groups and organizations never make the claim that in order to be anarchist one must belong to, or work

in, an anarchist organization. It behoves anarchist individualists and organizations alike to prove that anarchy is a plural way of life, a point of view that allows the existence side by side of many points of view, and a conception of freedom that does not rest on uniformity or conformity. Consequent individualists will not join an organization, nor will an organization that wishes to be efficient admit individualists within its pale.

The two, however, may maintain friendly contacts and profit from each other's experience. Individualists may take part in some of the activities fostered by an organization, but to all intents and purposes they would be regarded by it as no more than sympathisers, even if they take a prominent part in some initiative of a specific and temporary nature. To belong to an organization proper, and to have a voice in the shaping of its policy, commitments and responsibilities must be taken, and an individualist who objects to them, either by temperament or in principle, will occupy himself more usefully, if not more enjoyably, in non-anarchist organizations.

The structure of each anarchist organization will be determined by the particular practical tasks it sets itself to achieve. These tasks must be commensurate to the size, quality and strength of the organization, and it is also desirable that the name which the organization takes corresponds to what it is, rather than to what it aspires to become. Features of dictatorship, bureaucracy and centralization will be avoided, not merely by denouncing them in speech and writing, but by evolving organizational forms that achieve efficiency without them. If anarchists can produce instances of such organisational forms, people will no longer dismiss out of hand the possibility of a whole society organized on anarchist lines. On the other hand, anarchism cannot be taken seriously as a viable social system while anarchists show no signs of stable social cohesion or reproduce in their organizations all the snags and faults of known democratic and totalitarian methods.

As regards relationships between anarchist organizations of the same locality with different purposes, or of different localities with broadly identical purposes, although the federalist principle is invoked as a matter of course, the greatest vagueness surrounds its organs and methods of operation. In the setting up and functioning of such organs lies another opportunity for anarchists to show originality and develop a highly characteristic and inspiring ethos.

Owing to the relatively small number of anarchist organizations and their paucity of means, it seems that the best tentative implementation of the federalist principle at the present time is the appointment of a kind of liaison officer or *chargé d'affaires* attached to one organization and representing the interests and viewpoints of another. If each organization is to be fully autonomous, it is clear that its representatives should

have function more similar to those of an ambassador than of an M.P. With modern means of communication it should be possible, except in times of repression, for the representatives of each organization to keep in close contact with it, faithfully to inform it and to carry out its instructions. A body of such representatives would form a kind of Conference, and none of them would have the right to make agreements or take decisions, binding the organization he represents, without its express approval.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

Scope for Differences

May I endorse the statement by the Libertarian League on anarchist organisation, particularly in the international field? A truly universal anarchist movement should include all approaches, from the semi-gradualist to the syndicalist. Relative permanence is also desirable in order to achieve our ends.

Unfortunately international organisations are generally somewhat ephemeral. I suggest that this is largely due to internal differences, sometimes on principle

but mainly over action. When the discussion must be decided by vote, the dissatisfied minority actual organisational exists whether the bottom upwards or we not therefore or in such a way as to

An international fil two roles, passive role covers, propaganda, information active concerns passive resistance, etc.

Might not a "passive resistance" risk of a split? Should we avoid decisions concentrate upon critical should the main concern propaganda, search?

The foregoing would discourage organisations, etc., could organise in the movement facilities but would responsibility of principle is involved

Bouquet from Germany

I've been receiving FREEDOM for some time now, and thought I would write to express my thanks.

Dick Ellington, of the New York Libertarian group first introduced me to FREEDOM by sending three copies along with a package of pamphlets on anarchism. I must say I enjoy your articles, and find a startling amount of truth in them.

As yet I am merely a student of politics, and as such I don't wish to connect myself with any group. However, I am fairly certain that my ideas are definitely liberal, and of the principles I've studied so far, yours are the ones I am in the most close agreement with.

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Anarchist Summer School 1957

'BLUEPRINTS FOR SANITY'

AS we have already announced, the 1957 Anarchist Summer School will be held at the Malatesta Club, London, on the August Bank Holiday weekend—Saturday, Sunday and Monday, 3rd, 4th and 5th August inclusive.

PROGRAMME

Saturday, Aug. 3

2.30 p.m. Morris Simon on
HEALTH IN A SANE SOCIETY

5.30 p.m. High Tea

8 p.m. Social

Including
SQUEALING STUDIOS
present

Frankfurt, June

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ANAESTHESIA

in morbid horrorscope
with an international cast

*Presented in the revolutionary new
SODD-U process with
cacophonous sound*

(This is *not* the play of the film)
Z cert.

Sunday, Aug. 4

11 a.m. Geoffrey Ostergaard on
BEYOND THE WAGE SYSTEM

1.30 p.m. Lunch

3.30 p.m. Hyde Park Meeting

7.30 p.m. Bob Green on
THE CONTRIBUTION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Monday, Aug. 5

11 a.m. Summing Up
DISCUSSION opened by
Rita Milton and Philip Sansom
1.30 Lunch.

FEES:

LECTURES: 1s. per lecture at the door;
2s. 6d. for the series, of four booked
in advance.

MEALS: 2s. 9d. each. Must be booked
in advance. *This applies also to
London comrades needing meals but
no accommodation.*

Latest Date for Booking:

MONDAY, 30th JULY

Visitors to London usually require bed and breakfast for the Saturday and Sunday nights and all London comrades with accommodation available are requested to furnish details to the organiser as soon as possible.

All enquiries and information, please to:

JOAN SCULTHORPE,
c/o Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.2.

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Thank you very much and keep up the

Frankfurt, June 3

Control in Workers Co-operative

IN a lecture given at The Malatesta Club last year (reported in FREEDOM 14/4/1956), Norman Carr claimed that Co-operative Co-partnerships were examples of real working democracies. To substantiate this claim he stated that, in marked contrast with retail consumer societies, attendance at annual general meetings of these productive societies was in the order of 78%.

Stimulated by this assertion Dr. Geoffrey Ostergaard has since made a survey of member participation in Co-operative Co-partnerships, the results of which have been published in *The Co-operators' Year Book*, 1957. From this survey it is clear that Mr. Carr's average figure of 78% was greatly exaggerated. The correct figure is just over 10%.

Apart from this correction, other interesting facts emerge from the survey which throw light on the democratic process in the 30 or so factories affiliated to the Co-operative Productive Federation. Although these co-partnerships are the best examples of workers' control in practice in this country, they are not organised purely by the workers. There are in fact four types of member: the workers in the enterprises, retail consumer societies, individuals (often former workers or their relatives) and, in a few cases, trade unions. Of the total membership of some 12,000, 30% are workers, 30% retail societies and the rest other individuals and trade unions. The bulk of the share capital is owned not by the workers who contribute only 24% of the total but by the retail

societies (41%) and by other individuals (34%), the trade unions owning 1%. However, as in all co-operatives, voting power is not related to amount of capital holding: the principle of one member, one vote obtains. Thus, the mammoth London Co-op, for example, if it invests in one of these societies has no more formal power than a single worker-member.

In practice it appears that the group of retail society members do not participate to any great extent. Of those who actually attended AGMs in 1950, only 10% were retail society representatives, compared with 22% individual non-workers and 68% of worker-members. The worker-members, too, displayed the most interest in their societies' business meetings. 26% of all the worker-members attended, compared with 6% of individuals and 4% of retail societies. In 10 out of 25 societies, more than 50% of the worker-members attended, while in two instances there was a 100% attendance by such members.

These figures show that, despite their 'mixed' constitutions and the formal power and capital holding vested in non-workers, control in co-operative co-partnerships is in fact largely in the hands of the workers. The workers dominate both at AGMs and in elections of management committees, with the result that 187 out of the total 281 committee members are workers. (Nevertheless, in a few societies, the workers are in a minority on these committees).

The average figure of 10% attending

(or 25% if one counts worker-members) might be but it is with many other worker-members. Norman Carr's point and the comparative controlled co-ops retail societies of 2% of members a

For anarchists on the importance of member interest size: the smaller the member participation look at workers' show that in several power is wielded by workers or in some and forceful manner this subversion likely to happen. The Labour Party (The Times (29) while these co-partnerships means of harmonious a small concern main small... that they provided a problem of establishing large-scale models the lessons to be learned from worker-co-operatives those who wish to process may well have advantages—and large-scale organi-

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Anarchism and Organisation

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Unfortunately international organisa-
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I suggest that this is largely due to inter-
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but mainly over immediate or future
action. When the need for action arises
discussion must be curtailed and the issue
decided by vote. This often produces a
dissatisfied minority and a potential or
actual organisational split. This danger
exists whether the organisation is from
bottom upwards or *vice versa*. Should
we not therefore organise the movement
in such a way as to minimise this risk?

An international movement would ful-
fil two roles, passive and active. The
passive role covers discussion, propa-
ganda, information and research. The
active concerns labour organisations,
passive resistance, relief, mutual assist-
ance, etc.

Might not a "passive" bias reduce the
risk of a split? Should periodical con-
gresses avoid decisions on action but con-
centrate upon criticism or discussions and
should the main anarchist agencies con-
cern propaganda, information and re-
search?

The foregoing would not preclude or
discourage organiser action. Syndical-
ists, etc., could organise themselves with-
in the movement making full use of its
facilities but would not be the direct
responsibility of congress except when
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Thank you very much of FREEDOM,
and keep up the good work!

Yours,

Frankfurt, June 3.

G.B.

In this way the passive role would be
slightly centralised and the active de-
centralised, leaving scope for differences.
Different approaches could be pursued
without proponents obstructing one an-
other and such activity could be con-
tinually subject to criticism and review
without issues of loyalty and solidarity
being involved.

Yours faithfully,

London, July 13. PETER G. FEAK.

No Conflict?

I agree with our North American
friends that organisation will be neces-
sary in a libertarian society, but cannot
agree that there will be no conflict be-
tween such a society and the individual.

It seems to me that an absence of such
conflict could only obtain in or result
in a static society. A society can only
be mobilised by the efforts of its indivi-
duals and the action-reaction situation
can be regarded as "conflict", if not
"antagonism".

Even if it were possible and stable,
which I doubt, such a society would be
undesirable. Indeed, it is difficult to see
how a static society could be libertarian.

If some libertarians are against society
(and organisation) because it is in con-
flict with the individual, their mistake is
in an over-simplified conclusion, rather
than a false premise. There are some
forms of conflict (such as rational argu-
ment) which benefit both sides. If an
individual is in "rational argument" with
a libertarian society, we should not auto-
matically take his side *simply* because
he is an individual, or take the side of
the society *simply* because it is libertar-
ian. There are other values to be con-
sidered also.

Naive conceptions of future libertarian
societies seem to be prevalent among
anarchists, and an earlier letter of mine
suggesting that evil (and good) will
always be with us so long as we retain
(as I hope we do) the sense of good and
evil, displeased at least one editor of
FREEDOM. I hope this letter provokes
more thought and less "wit"!

Yours sincerely,

ROLAND LEWIS.

Cheltenham, July 13.

Republicanism
Through Monarchism?

RE *Monarchy and Bad Taste*: An in-
teresting and worthwhile article
might have been produced. One intrigu-
ing point, of which many observers are
now aware, is that newspaper hysteria is
beginning to "work contrariwise". It is
putting readers off royalty, out goes the
bathwater, and out goes the baby too. G.
I take it, wants nothing so much as this?
Then why doesn't he start writing Royal
Gossip for one of our better newspapers,
and help on that (to his mind) good
work?

FRANCES BELLERBY.

MEETINGS AND
ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST

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Of course, I may be wrong in my suggestion that anarchism go to the masses rather than attempt reforms under a government, which is naturally hostile to such a programme, but again this is my somewhat uninformed view-point . . .

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In practice it appears that the group of retail society members do not participate to any great extent. Of those who actually attended AGMs in 1950, only 10% were retail society representatives, compared with 22% individual non-workers and 68% of worker-members. The worker-members, too, displayed the most interest in their societies' business meetings. 26% of all the worker-members attended, compared with 6% of individuals and 4% of retail societies. In 10 out of 25 societies, more than 50% of the worker-members attended, while in two instances there was a 100% attendance by such members.

These figures show that, despite their 'mixed' constitutions and the formal power and capital holding vested in non-workers, control in co-operative co-partnerships is in fact largely in the hands of the workers. The workers dominate both at AGMs and in elections of management committees, with the result that 187 out of the total 281 committee members are workers. (Nevertheless, in a few societies, the workers are in a minority on these committees).

The average figure of 10% attending

(or 25% if one considers only the worker-members) is not as good as it might be but it compares favourably with many other voluntary organisations. Norman Carr's point still holds good and the comparison with consumer-controlled co-ops remains striking. In retail societies of a similar size, less than 2% of members attend business meetings.

For anarchists who have long insisted on the importance of small scale organisation, one further point of interest emerges from Dr. Ostergaard's survey. Member interest is inversely related to size: the smaller the society, the higher the member participation. A really close look at workers' co-operatives might well show that in several of them the effective power is wielded by a few active members or in some cases by an energetic and forceful manager; but it is clear that this subversion of democracy is less likely to happen in small scale organisations. The Labour Correspondent of *The Times* (29/4/57) concluded that while these co-partnerships "provide a means of harmonious self-government in a small concern that is satisfied to remain small . . . there is no evidence . . . that they provide any solution to the problem of establishing democracy in large-scale modern industry". One of the lessons to be learned from these worker-co-operatives may be just this: those who wish to democratise the work process may well have to forgo the advantages—and the disadvantages—of large-scale organisation.

GASTON GERARD.

he is an individual, or take the side of the society *simply* because it is libertarian. There are other values to be considered also.

Naive conceptions of future libertarian societies seem to be prevalent among anarchists, and an earlier letter of mine suggesting that evil (and good) will always be with us so long as we retain (as I hope we do) the sense of good and evil, displeased at least one editor of FREEDOM. I hope this letter provokes more thought and less "wit"!

Yours sincerely,

ROLAND LEWIS.

Cheltenham, July 13.

Republicanism Through Monarchism?

RE *Monarchy and Bad Taste*: An interesting and worthwhile article might have been produced. One intriguing point, of which many observers are now aware, is that newspaper hysteria is beginning to "work contrariwise". It is putting readers off royalty, out goes the bathwater, and out goes the baby too. G. I take it, wants nothing so much as this? Then why doesn't he start writing *Royal Gossip* for one of our better newspapers, and help on that (to his mind) good work?

FRANCES BELLERBY.

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...ize them out of his consciousness. He
accepts the existential tragedy of which
circumstances daily remind him, and by
doing so he is often able to gain a great
satisfaction from the rest of life; as
Proudhon once suggested, the man who
realizes that he is in the midst of death
begins to live with a real intensity.
Significantly, Mexicans may often be
killed by others, but they rarely kill
themselves; they may often die from dis-
eases caused by the physical primitive-
ness of their existence, but they suffer
little from the cancers and ulcers which
are our compensatory plagues".



OF the fruits of the decade of revolu-
tion, his impressions are implicit in
the description of what he saw. He
found Mexico City a city of two
nations with just as fabulous a gulf
between rich and poor as ever. He found

rather than practicable". The Mexicans
call this fever to make plans for their
own sake *proyectismo*. "Every Mexican
government, and almost every urban
Mexican, is a chronic victim of *proyec-*
tismo, unable to suppress the tendency
to see *proyectos* in such general and
optimistic terms that relatively little
attention is paid to the speed or the com-
petence with which they can be carried
out, or to those apparently minor imper-
fections which at times undermine the
greatest achievements". For this reason
it is a relief to learn of the impressive
results of the UNESCO Centre for Fun-
damental Education on Lake Patzcuaro.
The Woodcocks approached it with mis-
givings, noting the pompous earnestness
of the lines of poles bearing flags of
sixty nations, but these feelings vanished
after they had talked with people around
Patzcuaro and "found how closely the

part in organising the revolutionary
movement at the time of the fall of Diaz.
'Many years ago, Flores Magon was my
comrade,' said the General, and I swear
that hard old man had tears in his
eyes ..."

That night at the meeting,

"You can imagine how astonished I
was when I saw the General march in at
the head of his troops and range them,
platoon by platoon, until the hall was
full. And there they sat in stolid Indian
silence while I talked to them of free-
dom and damned authority and militar-
ism. Can you think of any other coun-
try where a General would force his
soldiers to sit for a whole evening listen-
ing to the opinions of an anarchist?"

George comments that he would have
thought this story an exaggeration had
not a parallel incident taken place in
Mexico City a few days after it was told

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BOOK REVIEW

Love and Man's Needs

THE ART OF LOVING by
Erich Fromm. Allen & Unwin,
9s. 6d.

W. H. Auden said in one of his poems
We must love one another or die—it is
a succinct summary of Erich Fromm's
little book. Fromm, whose previous
books *The Fear of Freedom* and *The*
Sane Society readers of this paper may
already know, starts with the proposi-
tion that man's deepest need is the need
to overcome his separateness, "to leave
the prison of his aloneness". This de-
sire for union has been a recurring
problem throughout man's development
and at different periods he has solved it
in different ways.

In the more primitive cultures where
animals and the soil are the most impor-
tant parts of man's environment he iden-
tifies 'himself' with animals by wearing
animal masks and worshipping animal
gods. Another way of escaping separa-
teness is through the communal rituals
that achieve a trance-like state of exalta-
tion for the individual—either by dance
and music or sexual orgies. In "civil-
ised" societies the same object is achieved
by alcoholism and drug-taking by those
who have become, for whatever reason,
too isolated to solve the problem as the
majority do; that is, by conformity. The
individual self becomes largely submer-
ged in conformity, dress, custom, and
ideas to the pattern of the group, and
as we all know this desire for conformity
is utilised to the full by governments.

The pattern of our society is such that
it will function more effectively with un-
individualised human atoms "all obeying
the same commands, yet everybody
being convinced that he is following his
own desires". We are becoming stan-
dardised units produced by society to
serve society.

But what is the full answer to this
great problem? Fromm maintains that
it lies in "interpersonal union, of fusion
with another person, in *love*. [Love] is
the most fundamental passion, it is the
force which keeps the human race to-
gether, the clan, the family, Society." To
be a fully loving person one must first
achieve complete self-knowledge and
from that basis one may learn to

understand others, to be scientific towards
them: one must have patience, concen-
tration, discipline and objectivity. One
must in fact be a 'complete man'.

Fromm realises that such love cannot
flourish under our present (capitalist)
social system and in his previous book
(*The Sane Society*, published by Rout-
ledge) he has given us a detailed criticism
of contemporary Western capitalist
society and of the State capitalist society
in Russia; in that book he suggests that
a federal, co-operative society would pro-
vide an answer to many of the problems

Books Notes and Comments

Road to Revolution. By Avrahm Yar-
molevsky. Cassell, 25/-.

A. J. P. Taylor, in his review of this
book, asserts that the revolution of 1917
was not the culmination of the efforts
of the 19th Century revolutionaries, but
would have happened if they had never
existed, and was made by the Russian
people. Anyway, here is a history of all
the leading movements and figures, their
writings and methods, from 1790 to 1900.

Science and Human Life. By J. A. V.
Butler. Pergamon Press, 15/-.

It was a brave task for one man to
attempt the answer to "What does it all
mean?" but it must be said he approaches
it with all humility. Some of the chap-
ter headings will show the scope of the
book: *Science and the Idea of Human*
Nature, *Life as a Chemical Phenomenon*,
Is Man an Automaton?, *Mind and Mat-*
ter, *Science and Ethics*, *Science and*
Religion, etc., each a brief summary of
the author's views with some justification
from the latest scientific knowledge. Such
a book cannot be more than superfi-
cial, but it is stimulating and has a
good little bibliography for further read-
ing.

The Scientific Study of Social Behaviour.
By Michael Argyle. Methuen, 21/-.

There is something disagreeable in the
thought that the behaviour of people in-
dividually and *en masse* can be codified
within scientific laws and thus predicted,
but such appears to be the case. This
book reports the results of many investi-
gations in the past into such questions

of living. In *The Art of Loving* he con-
cludes that "those who are seriously con-
cerned with love as the only rational
answer to the problem of human exist-
ence must, then, arrive at the conclusion
that important and radical changes in
our social structure are necessary".

I would just like to add that this book
appears in a series called "World Per-
spectives" which includes *The Trans-*
formations of Man by Lewis Mumford
and works by V. G. Childe, Fred Hoyle
and Walter Gropius. An interesting and
timely series. M.G.W.

as how people affect each other's be-
haviour, how people can be persuaded,
the attitudes of members of a group to
the others and to leaders, and personal
relations in large organisations such as
industrial and commercial firms. There
is one point which is not the author's
concern, which is the vast power which
a fuller mastery of this kind of know-
ledge would give to those in authority.

Tom Mann and his Times. By Dona
Torr. Volume 1 (1856-1890). Lawrence
& Wishart, 21/- (1956).

This is the first volume of a projected
complete "Life" and covers Mann's boy-
hood, apprenticeship, and early man-
hood. As the title indicates it is more
than a biography, and besides showing
Mann's development as a trade unionist
and, later, socialist, it tries to show him
in the setting of the mass Labour move-
ment. The volume ends with the Dock
Strike of 1889.

The Urge to Punish. By Henry Wei-
hofen. Gollancz, 15/-.

The sub-title is "New approaches to
the problem of mental irresponsibility
for crime," and in fact the author is
concerned with how the law can take
account of the degree of mental distur-
bance in criminals. He attacks the
M'Naghten Rule for its "assumption that
incapacity to know the nature and
quality of an act, or incapacity to know
its wrongfulness, is the only significant
symptom of mental disorder and conse-
quently should be the only criterion of
responsibility." The title is misleading.

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...the name of the organiza-
...takes corresponds to what it is,
...rather than to what it aspires to become.
Features of dictatorship, bureaucracy
and centralization will be avoided, not
merely by denouncing them in speech
and writing, but by evolving organiza-
tional forms that achieve efficiency with-
out them. If anarchists can produce
instances of such organisational forms,
people will no longer dismiss
out of hand the possibility of a whole
society organized on anarchist lines. On
the other hand, anarchism cannot be
taken seriously as a viable social system
while anarchists show no signs of stable
social cohesion or reproduce in their
organizations all the snags and faults of
known democratic and totalitarian
methods.

As regards relationships between anar-
chist organizations of the same locality
with different purposes, or of different
localities with broadly identical purposes,
although the federalist principle is in-
voked as a matter of course, the greatest
vagueness surrounds its organs and meth-
ods of operation. In the setting up and
functioning of such organs lies another
opportunity for anarchists to show
originality and develop a highly charac-
teristic and inspiring ethos.

Owing to the relatively small number
of anarchist organizations and their
paucity of means, it seems that the best
tentative implementation of the federal-
ist principle at the present time is the
appointment of a kind of liaison officer
or *chargé d'affaires* attached to one
organization and representing the inter-
ests and viewpoints of another. If each
organization is to be fully autonomous,
it is clear that its representatives should

I've been receiving FREEDOM for some
time now, and thought I would write to
express my thanks.

Dick Ellington, of the New York
Libertarian group first introduced me to
FREEDOM by sending three copies along
with a package of pamphlets on anar-
chism. I must say I enjoy your articles,
and find a startling amount of truth in
them.

As yet I am merely a student of politics,
and as such I don't wish to connect my-
self with any group. However, I am
fairly certain that my ideas are definitely
liberal, and of the principles I've studied
so far, yours are the ones I am in the
most close agreement with.

I was particularly interested in the
discussion of present-day anarchism, and
how an ordinary person can further the
principles he believes in. As a student,
I have few opportunities to do so. Only
in small ways—such as injecting into
group discussions a note of anarchist
thinking, or reforming existing organiza-
tions into co-operative groups—I am I
able to demonstrate that complex gov-
ernment is not necessary. At present I
am president of a small correspondence
club which has only seventy members.
The secretary of the club and I plan to
gradually institute a new method of
running the affairs of the club, and hope
that in the end result the organization
will virtually run itself without officials
to regulate its behaviour. Through such
small examples the public at large can
be shown the advantages of the anarchist
system.

Though of course I am far from an
expert in the field of politics, I would

...say that anarchism, if it is to be a
goal, must work towards that goal gradu-
ally, instead of urging various labour
groups or other powers to act in their
own interests, and in the interests of the
people. First of all, the people them-
selves must realize the mistakes that are
being made, and correct them by them-
selves. Anarchists, if they are constan-
tly on guard and awake to possibili-
ties for the furthering of their ideas, and
seek to educate the people by being *there*
at all times, will do much to advance
anarchism itself. The place of the anar-
chist is not in the office of power, seek-
ing an audience, but among the people,
where they can show them the Libertar-
ian principle.

Of course, I may be wrong in my
suggestion that anarchism go to the
masses rather than attempt reforms
under a government, which is naturally
hostile to such a programme, but again
this is my somewhat uninformed view-
point . . .

Meanwhile, I wish you the best of
luck with FREEDOM. It is a very fine
publication, and certainly the central
publication for anarchism under the
English language. I enjoy every issue,
and give your articles much thought and
consideration. In these days when a
newspaper is a thing to be read for a
few minutes and thrown away, I for one
save my FREEDOMS. An average issue
contains more thought and obvious effort
and sincere hope than any dozen of the
common news sheets.

Thank you very much of FREEDOM,
and keep up the good work!

Yours,

Frankfurt, June 3.

G.B.

Control in Workers Co-operative

IN a lecture given at The Malatesta
Club last year (reported in FREEDOM
14/4/1956), Norman Carr claimed that
Co-operative Co-partnerships were ex-
amples of real working democracies.
To substantiate this claim he stated that,
in marked contrast with retail consumer
societies, attendance at annual general
meetings of these productive societies was
in the order of 78%.

Stimulated by this assertion Dr. Geof-
frey Ostergaard has since made a survey
of member participation in Co-operative
Co-partnerships, the results of which
have been published in *The Co-opera-
tors' Year Book*, 1957. From this sur-
vey it is clear that Mr. Carr's average
figure of 78% was greatly exaggerated.
The correct figure is just over 10%.

Apart from this correction, other in-
teresting facts emerge from the survey
which throw light on the democratic
process in the 30 or so factories affiliated
to the Co-operative Productive Federa-
tion. Although these co-partnerships are
the best examples of workers' control in
practice in this country, they are not
organised purely by the workers. There
are in fact four types of member: the
workers in the enterprises, retail con-
sumer societies, individuals (often former
workers or their relatives) and, in a few
cases, trade unions. Of the total mem-
bership of some 12,000, 30% are work-
ers, 30% retail societies and the rest
other individuals and trade unions. The
bulk of the share capital is owned not
by the workers who contribute only
24% of the total but by the retail

societies (41%) and by other individuals
(34%), the trade unions owning 1%.
However, as in all co-operatives, voting
power is not related to amount of capital
holding: the principle of one member,
one vote obtains. Thus, the mammoth
London Co-op, for example, if it invests
in one of these societies has no more
formal power than a single worker-
member.

In practice it appears that the group
of retail society members do not partici-
pate to any great extent. Of those who
actually attended AGMs in 1950, only
10% were retail society representatives,
compared with 22% individual non-
workers and 68% of worker-members.
The worker-members, too, displayed the
most interest in their societies' business
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bers attended, compared with 6% of in-
dividuals and 4% of retail societies. In
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in two instances there was a 100%
attendance by such members.

These figures show that, despite their
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non-workers, control in co-operative co-
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The average figure of 10% attending

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Norman Carr's point still holds good
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For anarchists who have long insisted
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Member interest is inversely related to
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GASTON GERARD.

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